

ISSN: 0149-5933

COMPARATIVE STRATEGY

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Volume 22
2003

*Cosponsored by the National Institute for Public Policy
and the Center for Strategic Studies,
University of Reading, UK*



COMPARATIVE STRATEGY

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Sponsored by the National Institute for Public Policy

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Keith B. Payne
National Institute for Public
Policy

FOUNDING EDITOR

Richard B. Foster

MANAGING EDITOR

C. Dale Walton

EDITOR FOR EUROPE

Colin S. Gray
Center for Strategic Studies
University of Reading

MANAGING EDITOR

Kathleen Bailey

MANAGING EDITOR

Kristin S. Kolet

EDITORIAL COORDINATOR

Amy B. Joseph

BOARD OF EDITORS

Alexander R. Alexiev, RAND Corporation; John Arquilla, Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School; Coral Bell, The Australian National University, Australia; Lord Chalfont, Chairman of the All Party Defence Committee, House of Lords, UK; King-yuh Chang, Institute of International Relations, Taiwan; Angelo M. Codevilla, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace; Maurizio Cremasco, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Italy; J. D. Crouch, Southwest Missouri State University; Stephen P. Gibert, Georgetown University; A. James Gregor, University of California; Robert E. Harkavy, Pennsylvania State University; Pierre Hassner, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, France; Ilana Kass, National Defense University; Dalchoong Kim, Yonsei University, Korea; William Kincade, American University; Michael Krepon, Stimson Center; Laurence Martin, The University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK; Carlos de Meira Mattos, General (Ret.), Mackenzie University, Brazil; Holger Mey, Institute für Strategische Analysen, FRG; John Norton Moore, University of Virginia; Mackubin T. Owens, Jr., Naval War College; Jae Kyu Park, Kyungnam University, Korea; Jean-Francois Revel, *Le Point*, France; Eugene V. Rostow, National Defense University; Michael Rühle, NATO, Belgium; William Schneider, Jr., Croton Institute; Richard H. Shultz, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Gerald L. Steibel, Freedom House; Gerhard Wettig, Bundeinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche und Internationale Studien, FRG; David S. Yost, Naval Postgraduate School.

Abstracted and/or Indexed in: Abstracts of Military Bibliography; Automatic Subject Citation Index, Current Contents/Social & Behavioral Sciences; Current Military and Political Literature; International Bibliography of Periodical Literature; International Political Science Abstracts; Monthly List of Selected Articles; UN Library (Geneva); PAIS International; Social Sciences Index; Social Science Citation Index.

Editorial Office: Keith B. Payne, National Institute for Public Policy, 3031 Javier Road, Suite 300, Fairfax, VA 22031

Subscription Information: *Comparative Strategy* is published quarterly and once in December by Taylor & Francis Ltd., 11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE, UK.

Annual Subscription, Volume 20, 2001 Print ISSN 0149-5933, Institutional: US \$295, UK £179,

Personal: US \$120, UK £70. A subscription to the print edition includes free access for any number of concurrent users across a local area network to the online edition. Online ISSN 1521-0448. Institutional subscribers may choose a print subscription, an online subscription, or both.

Publishing, Advertising, and Subscription Office: Taylor & Francis, 325 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106, tel -215-625-8900, fax -215-625-2940. Production Editor: Natacha Carter.

Subscriptions telephone number -215-269-0400. For a complete guide to Taylor & Francis Group's journal and book publishing programs, and details on advertising in our journals, visit our website: <http://www.taylorandfrancis.com>.

Periodicals postage paid at Jamaica NY 11431. US Postmaster: Send address changes to *Comparative Strategy*, Publications Expediting, Inc., 200 Meacham Avenue, Elmont, NY 11003.

Dollar rates apply to subscribers in all countries except the UK and the Republic of Ireland where the sterling price applies. All subscriptions are payable in advance and all rates include postage. Subscriptions are entered on an annual basis; i.e., January to December. Payment may be made by sterling check, dollar check, international money order, National Giro, or credit card (Amex, Visa, Mastercard/Access).

Orders originating in the following territories should be sent directly to: India: Universal Subscription Agency Pvt. Ltd, 101-102 Community Centre, Malviya Nagar Extn, Post Bag No. 8, Saket, New Delhi 110017. Japan: Kinokuniya Company Ltd, Journal Department, PO Box 55, Chitose, Tokyo 156. USA, Canada, and Mexico: Taylor & Francis, 325 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106. UK and all other territories: Taylor & Francis Ltd, Rankine Rd., Basingstoke, Hampshire RG24 8PR.

Copyright © 2001 Taylor & Francis. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored, transmitted, or disseminated in any form or by any means without prior written permission from Taylor & Francis Inc. Taylor & Francis Inc. grants authorization for individuals to photocopy copyright material for private research use on the sole basis that requests for such use are referred directly to the requester's local Reproduction Rights Organization (RRO), such as the Copyright Clearance Center in the USA or the Copyright Licensing Agency in the UK. This authorization does not extend to any other kind of copying by any means, in any form, and for any purpose other than private research use. The publisher assumes no responsibility for any statements of fact or opinion expressed in the published papers. The appearance of advertising in this journal does not constitute an endorsement or approval by the publisher, the editor, or the editorial board of the quality or value of the product advertised or of the claims made for it by its manufacturer.

COMPARATIVE STRATEGY

Annual Tables of Contents

Volume 22, Issue 1

Bricks and Mortar for a Theory of Intelligence Loch K. Johnson	1
The Biological & Toxin Weapons Convention: Recapping Events of 2002 Kathleen C. Bailey	29
What Do We Do If the Saudi Monarchy Falls? Mark N. Katz	45
Book Review C. Dale Walton	59
Book Review Larry Valero	61
Documentation	63

Volume 22, Issue 2

Revisiting Mackinder and Angell: The Obsolescence of Great Power Geopolitics Christopher J. Fettweis	109
Why the United States Should Unsign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and Resume Nuclear Testing Kathleen C. Bailey and Robert B. Barker	131
India's Rising Profile in Central Asia Stephen Blank	139
U.S. Geostrategy in Central Asia: A Kazakh Perspective Doulatbek Khidirbekughli	159
Book Review Dennis Showalter	169
Book Review Jeff Bennett	171
Book Review Julian Schofield	173
Documentation	175
Errata	205

Volume 22, Issue 3

Promoting Freedom and Democracy: Fighting the War of Ideas Against Islamic Terrorism Ariel Cohen	207
Putin's Strategic Partnership with the West: The Domestic Politics of Russian Foreign Policy Tor Bukkvoll	223
Compellence Failure or Coercive Success? The Case of NATO and Yugoslavia Wallace J. Thies	243

Annual Tables of Contents

Thickening the Thin Red Line: The Role of Native Troops in the Imperial British Army Elliot Ackerman	269
Book Review C. Dale Walton	283
Book Review Thomas M. Kane	287
Documentation	291

Volume 22, Issue 4

An Analysis of Reduced Collateral Damage Nuclear Weapons Bryan L. Fearey, Paul C. White, John St. Ledger, and John D. Immele . . .	305
Enabling Defense Transformation: Network-Centric Warfare and Ballistic Missile Defense David C. Isby and Timothy Biggs	325
Hannibal: The Father of Strategy Reconsidered Daneta Billau and Donald A. Graczyk	335
A Coherent Theory of Coercion? The Writings of Robert Pape Patrick C. Bratton	355
The Changing Face of Eurasia: Russian and Ukrainian Foreign Policy in Transition Eric A. Miller	373
Book Review Stacy Bergstrom Haldi	391
Documentation	393

Volume 22, Issue 5

Special Issue: Deterrence in the Second Nuclear Age

The Fallacies of Cold War Deterrence and a New Direction Keith B. Payne	411
The Reformation of Deterrence: Moving On Colin S. Gray	429
The Need for Influence Theory and Actor-Specific Behavioral Models of Adversaries Alexander L. George	463
Deterring North Korea: U.S. Options Terry C. Stevens, David J. Smith, Chuck Downs, and Robert Dujarric . . .	489
Gulf Cooperation Council Threat Perceptions and Deterrence Objectives Riad Kahwaji	515
Book Review Patrick Harding	521
Documentation	525
Books Received	537

